



# HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

Of the Late Fight at

## PIGGWACKET,

with a

### SERMON

Occasion'd by the Fall of the Brave

CAPT. JOHN LOVEWELL

And Several of his Valiant Company,

In The Late

HEROIC ACTION there.

Pronounc'd at Bradford, May, 16. 1725.

By THOMAS SYMMES, V. D. M.

THE SECOND EDITION CORRECTED.

Ila. 3. 25. Thy Men shall fall by the Sword, and thy  
Mighty in the War.

BOSTON in New England :  
Printed by B. Green Jun. for S. Gerrish, near the  
Brick Meeting-House in Cornhill. 1725.

UCSB LIBRARY

X-70690



## AN HISTORICAL PREFACE, OR MEMOIRS OF THE BATTLE, AT PIGGWACKET.

---

WHEN Joshua with his Chosen Soldiers, had Discomfited Amalek, and his People, with the Edge of the Sword; (while Moses with the Rod of GOD in his uplifted hands, supported by Aaron and Hur, made Intercession to the GOD of Armies, on the Top of the Hill) the Lord said to Moses, Write THIS for a Memorial in a Book, and rehears it in the Ears of Joshua, Exod. XVII. 14. For this would be an unspeakable Encouragement to that Renowned General, in his Wars with the Aborigines of Canaan.

NOW from this Story we learn, not only, That if Israel would prevail against their Enemies, they should all, but their Magistrates and Ministers especially, lift up and keep up, the hand of Prayer: But also, That the Remarkable Preservation and Success of Soldiers in Fighting the Lords Battles, are very proper to be Commemorated, for the Honour of GOD, and Encouragement of his Servants, in future Expeditions, and Military Actions.

IN Consideration hereof, I've the more easily comply'd with the Request of some of the Publishers of the Ensuing Sermon, that it might be accompany'd with a Narrative of the Memorable Occasion of it.

AND tho' I at first propos'd only to Reprint the Relation of this Action, given us in the Public News Papers; yet having been favour'd with a more particular account from the Valorous Captain Wyman, and some

others of good Credit, that were in the Engagement; I hope it will not be unacceptable to any, and am sure it will be very grateful to some; to have the Story Publish'd with some Enlargements. And particularly to make a Public Record of the Names of those Courageous Soldiers, who have so nobly play'd the man for their Country; several of whom have been grievously Wounded, & others have Died in the Field of Battle, or of the Wounds they there Receiv'd: All of whose Names I am perswaded the greatest part of the Country will allow, deserve to be Transmitted unenvi'd to Posterity, with very bright Encomiums.

'Twas then, about the 16th of April, 1725, that the Brave Lovewell began his March from Dunstable for Piggwacket, with Forty-Six Men under his Command.

WHEN they'd Travell'd a little way, Toby, an Indian falling Lame, was oblig'd to return, with great Reluctancy.

WHEN they came as far as Contoocook, one Wm. Cummins of Dunstable was so disabl'd by a Wound he'd Receiv'd from the Enemy some time before, that the Capt. dismiss'd him, with a Kinsman of his to accompany him.

THEN thay Travell'd as far as Ossipy, and there one Benjamin Kidder of Nutfield falling Sick; the Capt. made a Halt, and tarried while they built a small \*Fortification, for a place of Refuge to repair too, if there should be Occasion. Here he left his Doctor, A Serjent and Seven other Men, to take care of Kidder, and of a Considerable Quantity of Provision, here left to lighten the Men, and facilitate their March; and for a Recruit upon their Return.

WITH his Company now reduc'd to Thirty-Four Men with himself, the Capt. Travell'd to Pigwacket, which is about Forty Miles from said Fort.

---

\*[On the Daniel Smith Farm, Ossipy.]

THEIR Names that made up this Company (expecting his that started from them in the beginning of the Battle, and ran back to the Fort, which I'd be excus'd from mentioning) were as follow :

Capt.	John Lovewell, (killed,)	}	Dunstable
Lieut.	Josiah Farwell, (wounded, died by the way)		
Lieut.	Jonathan Robbins, (killed)		
Ensign	John Harwood, (killed)		
Serjent	Noah Johnson, (wounded)		
	Robert Usher, (killed)		
	Samuel Whiting, (wounded)		
*	[Serjent Nathaniel Woods], (left at Fort)		
	[William Cummins], (dismissed & sent back)		
	[Edward Spooney], (left at Fort.)		
	[Ebenezer Hulbert], (left at Fort)	}	Woburn
	[Benjamin Hassell], (deserted)		
	[Toby, an Indian], (sent back.)		
Ensign	Seth Wyman,		
Corpo.	Thomas Richardson		
	Timothy Richardson, (wounded)	}	Concord
	Ichabod Johnson, (killed)		
	Josiah Johnson, (wounded)		
	Eleazer Davis, (wounded)		
	Josiah Davis, (killed)		
	Josiah Jones, (wounded)	}	Billerica
	David Melvin		
	Eleazer Melvin		
	Jacob Farrah, (killed)		
	Joseph Farrah		
	[Isaac Whitney], (left at Fort)		
	[Zachariah Whitney], (left at Fort)		
Mr.	Jonathan Frie, Chaplain of Andover, (wounded and died by the way)		
	Serjent Jacob Fullam, of Weston, (killed)		
	Corporal Edward Lingfield, Nutfield		
	[Benjamin Kidder],	" (left at Fort)	
	[John Goffe],	" (left at Fort)	
	Jonathan Kittridge, (killed)	}	Billerica
	Solomon Kies, (wounded)		

\* [Bracketed names added.]

John Jefts, (killed)	}	Groton
Daniel Woods, (killed)		
Thomas Woods, (killed)		
John Chamberlain, (wounded)		
Elias Barron, (wounded, & died by the way)		
Isaac Lakin, (wounded)		
Joseph Gilson	}	Haverhill
*[John Gilson], (left at Fort)		
Ebenezer Ayer,		
Abiel Asten		
[Zebediah Asten], (left at Fort)	}	
[Dr. William Ayer], (left at Fort)		

FROM the Thursday before the Battle, the Company were apprehensive they were Discover'd and Dog'd by the Enemy: And on Friday Night, the Watch heard the Indians about the Camp and Alarm'd the Company, but it being very Dark, they could make no further Discovery.

SATURDAY the Eighth of May, while they were at Prayers, very Early in the Morning, they heard a Gun; and sometime after spy'd an Indian on a Point, that ran into Saco Pond.

THEY now concluded that the design of the Gun, & of the Indian's Discovering himself, was to draw them that way: And expecting without fail to be Attack'd; It was now proposed, whether it were Prudent to venture an Engagement with the Enemy, (who they perceiv'd were now sufficiently Alarm'd,) or, endeavour a speedy Retreat. The Men Generally and Boldly Answered, "We came out to meet the Enemy; we have all along Pray'd GOD we might find em; and we had rather trust Providence with our Lives, yea Dy for our Country, than try to Return without seeing them, if we may, and be called Cowards for our Pains."

---

\* [Bracketed names added,]

THE Captain readily comply'd to lead them on, though not without Manifesting some Apprehensions; — And (supposing the Enemy were a Head of 'em, when as it prov'd, they were in the Rear) Ordered the Men to lay down their Packs, & March with greatest Caution, and in utmost readiness.

WHEN they'd March'd about a Mile and Half, or two Miles, Ensign Wyman spy'd an Indian coming toward them, whereupon he gave a Sign, and they all squat, and and let him come on: presently several Guns were Fir'd at him; upon which the Indian Fir'd upon Captain Lovewell with Bever-Shot and Wounded him Mortally (as is supposed) tho' he made little Complaint, and was still able to Travel, and at the same time Wounded Mr. Samuel Whiting: Immediately Wyman Fir'd at the Indian and Kill'd him; and Mr. Frie and another Scalp'd him.

THEY then March'd back toward their Packs, (which the Enemy in the mean while had seiz'd) and about Ten a Clock, when they came pretty near where they'd laid 'em, on the North East end of Saco Pond, in a plain Place, where there were few Trees and scarce any Brush; The Indians rose up in Front and Rear, in two Parties, and ran toward the English Three or Four Deep, with their Guns Presented: And the English also Presented in a Moment and ran to meet them; and when they came within a few Yards, they Fir'd on both sides, and the Indians fell amain, but the English (most, if not all) 'scap'd the first Shot, and drove the Indians several Rods, both sides Firing three or four Rounds. But the Indians being more than double in Number to our Men, & having soon Kill'd Captain Lovewell, Mr. Fullam, (only Son of Major Fullam of Weston,) Ensign Harwood, John Jefts, Jonathan Kittridge, Daniel Woods, Ichabod Johnson, Thomas Woods and Josiah Davis; and wounded Lieu-



tenant Farwell, Lieutenant Robbins and Robert Usher, in the place where the Fight began, and striving to Surround the rest; The Word was given, to Retreat to the Pond, which was done with a great deal of good Conduct, and prov'd a vast service to the English (in Covering their Rear,) tho' the Indians got the Ground where our Dead lay.

THE Fight continu'd very Furious & Obstinate, till towards Night. The Indians Roaring and Yelling and Howling like Wolves, Barking like Dogs, and making all Sorts of Hideous Noises; The English Frequently Shouting and Huzzaing, as they did after the first Round. At one time, Captain Wyman is Confident, they were got to Powawing, by their striking on the Ground, and other odd Motions, but at length Wyman crept up toward 'em and Firing among 'em, shot the Chief Powaw and brake up their Meeting.

SOME of the Indians holding up Ropes, ask'd the English if they'd take Quarter, but were Answer'd Briskly, they'd have none but at the Muzzle of their Guns.

ABOUT the middle of the Afternoon, the Ingenious Mr. Jonathan Frie, only Son of Captain James Frie of Andover, a Young Gentleman of a Liberal Education, and who was Chaplain to the Company, and greatly Belov'd by them, for his Excellent Performances and good Behaviour, and who fought with Undaunted Courage till that time o' Day, was Mortally Wounded. But when he could Fight no longer, He Pray'd Audibly, several times, for the Preservation and Success of the Residue of the Company.

'T WAS after Sun set when the Enemy drew off, and left our Men the Field: And it's suppos'd not above Twenty of the Enemy went off well. About Midnight the English got together, and found Jacob Farrah, just



expiring by the Pond, and Lieutenant Robbins, and Usher unable to travel. Lieutenant Robbins desir'd they'd Charge his Gun and leave it with him, (which they did) for says he. The Indians will come in the Morning to Scalp me, and I'll kill one more of 'em if I can. Eleven more that were Wounded, who were Lieut. Farwell, Mr. Frie, Serjent Johnson, Timothy Richardson, Josiah Johnson, Samuel Whiting, Elias Barron, John Chamberlain, Isaac Lakin, Eleazer Davis, & Josiah Jones, March'd off the Ground, with the Nine that received no considerable Wound, who were Ensign Wyman, Edward Lingfield, Thomas Richardson, Two Melvins, Ebenezer Ayer, Abiel Asten, Joseph Farrah and Joseph Gilson, who did not perceive they were way-laid, or pursued by the Enemy, tho' they knew our Men had no Provision, and must needs be very faint. Four of the Wounded Men, viz. Farwell, Frie, Davis and Jones, after they'd Travell'd about a Mile and Half, found themselves unable to go any further, and with their free Consent, the rest, hoping for a Recruit at the Fort, and to come back with Fresh Hands to relieve them, kept on their March. But one Morning as they were passing a thick Wood, they Divided into Three Companies for fear of making a Track, by which the Enemy might follow them. One of the Companies came upon Three Indians, who pursu'd 'em sometimes; And Elias Barron one of that Party stray'd from the rest, and got over Ossipy River, by the side of which, his Gun Case was found, & he has ne'r been heard of since.

ELEVEN in another Party recover'd the Fort, and to their great surprise, found it Deserted. For in the beginning of the Battle, the man that I promised not to Name, ran directly to the Fort, and gave the Men Posted there, such an account of what had happen'd, that they all made the best of their way Home. There came in also to the

Fort, One Solomon Kies, who having fought till he'd receiv'd three Wounds, & lost so much Blood he cou'd not stand, he crawl'd to Ensign Wyman in the heat of the Battle, & told him "He was a Dead Man; But (says he) if it be possible, I'll get out of the way of the Indians, that they mayn't get my Scalp." This Kies Providentially found a Canoe in the Pond, & roll'd himself into it, & was driven by the Wind some Miles toward the Fort; when being Wonderfully Strengthen'd, he got to the Fort, as soon as the Eleven aforesaid: & they all came into Dunstable, May 13th. at Night. O that Men would Praise the Lord for his Goodness, and for His Wonderful Works toward the Children of Men.

May 15th. came in at Dunstable four more of our Soldiers, whereof Ensign Wyman was one; who says, "They'd no sort of Food from Saturday Morning till Wednesday following, and yet scarce felt at all Hunger-bitten. They then caught two Mouse-Squirrels, which they roasted whole & found them a sweet Morsel. Afterward they Kill'd some Partridges and other Game, & were Comfortably Supply'd, till they got home.

Eleazer Davis came in at Berwick, & reports, (as I'm Inform'd) that He & the other Three left with him, when they'd waited some Days for the Return of the Men from the Fort, & at length despair'd of their coming, tho' their Wounds Stank & were Corrupt, & they were ready to Dy with Famine; yet they all travell'd several Miles together, till Mr. Frie desired Davis & Farwell not to hinder themselves any longer for his sake, for that he found himself Dying, & so lay down, telling them "He should never rise more: Charging Davis, if it should Please GOD to bring him home, to go to his Father, & tell him, that he expected in a few Hours to be in Eternity; and that He was not afraid to Dy." Whereupon they left him; and this Hopeful Gentleman Mr. Frie, who had

the Journal of the March in his Pocket, has not been heard of since.

Lieutenant Farwell, who has been very much & no doubt Deservedly Applauded, was also left by Davis at a few Miles distance from the Fort & not heard of since. But Davis getting to the Fort and finding Provision there, tarried and Refresh'd himself and recover'd strength to Travel to the place mention'd.

Josiah Jones another of the Four, came in at Saco.

Since the Action, Col. Tyng with a Company, have been on the spot, and found and Buried Twelve of our Men. They also found where the Indians had Buried Three of their Men, and when they were dug up, One of them was known to be the Bold PAUGUS, who has been such a Scourge to Dunstable; but if he be gone to his own place, He'll cease from Troubling.

HIS Honour, Our Excellent Lieutenant Governour has been Pleas'd to give Ensign Seth Wyman, a Captains Commission, since his Return, as a Reward for His Valour. And it's much to be Desired that He, and all that are Return'd from Piggwacket, to their own Houses, will consider and show what Great Things GOD has done for them. And that they and all our Brave Soldiers, will still take for their Motto, when going forth to War, the Inscription made by Moses on his Altar of Gratitude, after the Defeat of Amalek, JEHOVAH-NISSI, The Lord in my Banner.

BUT thus I've related the Story of the Action at Piggwacket, according to the best Information I cou'd obtain; and hope there are no Material, I'm sure, there are no Willing or Careless Mistakes in it.

AND I've only to add,

THAT whoever Considers the Distance our People were at from any English Settlement, in a Howling Wilderness, and very far in the Enemies Country, who were at

Home, & more than double the Number of our Men; Their Fighting from Morning to Night in a long, Hot Day, without any Refreshment; The number Kill'd and Wounded, amongst whom were some, that were Persons of Distinction on both sides; will doubtless grant that this Action Merits a Room in the History of our New-English Wars, whenever a Continuance of it shall be Publish'd If any judge, I've observ'd some Circumstances in this Action too Minute, I've only to say, if some such Persons or their Relations had been in the Action, it's possible they would not have been of this Opinion. However, those who I am firstly Oblig'd to Gratify, wont easily come into their Sentiments in this matter. And I must beg of the others to forgive me this Wrong, and that they'd only consider, the Different Taste of Readers, & consequently the extreme Difficulty, if not Impossibility of pleasing every Body, in a Performance of this Nature. And yet none would be more willing to do it, than the Unworthy Author, who is a Hearty Lover of His Country, and of all Good Men of every Denomination.

T. SYMMES.

#### AN ATTESTATION.

We whose Names are hereunto Subscrib'd, having had the Preceeding Narrative carefully Read to us (tho' we can't each of us, indeed, Attest to every particular Article & Circumstance in it,) yet we can and do Aver that the Substance of it is True; and are well Satisfy'd in the Truth of the whole.

SETH WYMAN.

EBENEZER AYER.

ABIEL ASTEN.

[Capt. Seth Wyman died September 5, 1725.]

TO MARK THE FIELD OF LOVEWELL'S FIGHT  
ON THE 8TH DAY OF MAY 1725 BETWEEN  
A COMPANY OF MASSACHUSETTS RANGERS OF 34 MEN  
AND 80 WARRIORS OF THE PEQUAWKET TRIBE  
LED BY PAUGUS IN A CONTEST LASTING  
FROM EARLY MORNING UNTIL AFTER SUNSET  
THE INDIANS WERE REPULSED  
AND THEIR CHIEF KILLED.

TO THE MEMORY OF		
CAPT. JOHN LOVEWELL	OF DUNSTABLE	THESE
LIEUT. JONATHAN ROBBINS	"	12 KILLED
ENSIGN JOHN HARWOOD	"	ON THE
ROBERT USHER	"	FIELD
SERJT. JACOB FULHAM	WESTON	OF
JACOB FARRAR	CONCORD	BATTLE
JOSIAH DAVIS	"	WERE
THOMAS WOODS	GROTON	FOUND
DANIEL WOODS	"	AND
JOHN JEFTS	"	BURIED
ICHABOD JOHNSON	WOBURN	BY
JONATHAN KITTREDGE	BILLERICA	COL. TYNG

LIEUT. JOSIAH FARWELL OF DUNSTABLE  
JONATHAN FRYE, CHAPLAIN, OF ANDOVER  
ELIAS BARRON OF GROTON  
WERE WOUNDED AND DIED BY THE WAY  
9 OTHERS WERE WOUNDED

THE SURVIVORS LED BY ENSIGN SETH WYMAN  
BEGAN THE HOMEWARD MARCH AFTER MIDNIGHT

ERECTED BY THE SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS  
IN THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS  
17TH JUNE 1904

JOURNAL OF CAPT. JOHN LOVEWELL and eighty-seven soldiers<sup>d</sup> under his Command in their march in quest of ye Indian Enemy, by Virtue of a Commission from the Hon. Wm. Dummer, Esq., Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief, etc.

Jan 27, 1724, Groton and Lancaster men came to Dunstable.

28th, Haverhill and Billerica men came to Dunstable.

29th, we mustered and came over the River.

30th, we travelled up to Nantecuck which was five miles. 31st, we travelled 10 miles encamped above Cohasset. Feb'y 1st, We Travelled 10 miles and encamped about 3 miles above Amuskeeg.

2d, We Travelled 15 miles and encamped at Penny Cook.

3d, We Travelled 12 miles and encamped at Contoocock.

4th, We lay still and sent out Scouts.

5th, We Travelled 8 miles towards Winnepeseocket, and encamped. 6th, we Travelled 5 miles and encamped at The Lower Pond, below Winnepeseocket River.

7th, one of our men being cut very bad with an axe, we sent 6 men home with him, and travelled 8 miles that day. 8th, We lay still by reason of a storm of snow. 9th, We Travelled 14 miles, & Encamped at the N.W. corner of Winnepeseocket.

10th, We Travelled 16 miles, & encamped at the North side of Cusumpe Pond. 11th, We Travelled N. & by E. from said Pond, & encamped & sent out Scouts, and some of our Scouts thought they discovered smokes, & others thought they heard Guns. 12th, We lay still & sent out Scouts, who discovered nothing.

13th, We lay still & sent out Scoutts, & for want of Provisions thirty of our men went home.

14th, We travelled 10 miles Towards the Easterly part of the White Mountains, & encamped upon a branch of Saco River; sent out Scouts and killed a Black Moose that day.

15, We lay still and sent out Scouts. 16th, We Travelled 6 miles, & came upon the Tracks of Indians, & we left 16 men with our packs, & the rest pursued the tracks till dark that night, and staid there all night, and on the 7th we followed their tracks till about 8 o'clock, & then we found where the Indians had lain twenty-four hours before, & we having no Victuals, returned again to the 16 men we had left our packs with, & refreshed ourselves, & then we

all pursued the remaining part of that day, & the night ensuing, 6 miles.

Feb. 18th, We Travelled 20 miles & Encamped at a Great Pond upon Saco River. 19th, We Travelled 22 miles & Encamped at a Pond.\*

20th, We Travelled about 5 miles, & came upon a Wigwam that the Indians had lately gone from, & then we pursued their tracks 2 miles further, & discovered their smokes, and there tarried till about 2 o'clock in the morning, & then came upon their Wigwams & killed Ten Indian Men, which were all that were there, & not one escaped alive.

21st, We came 6 miles. 22d, We lay still to see if any would pursue & kept Scouts on our Back tracks. 23d, travelled 30 miles and came to Cochechea. 24th, We travelled to Oyster River, 6 miles. 25th, lay still, as our men were lame in their feet. 26th we marched down to Cept. Knights, at Newington, and 27th, Went on board a sloop to come to Boston, where we arrived the 9th current. Mar. 10th, 1724-5.

---

“The legislature of Massachusetts, by resolution, in July 1722, declared the eastern Indians to be traitors and robbers; and, while troops were raised for the war, offered private men for each Indian scalp at first a bounty of fifteen pounds, and afterward of a hundred.”

“The overthrow of the missions completed the ruin of French influence. The English themselves had grown skilful in the Indian mode of warfare; and no war-parties of the red men ever displayed more address or heroism than the brave John Lovewell and his companions. His volunteer associates twice returned laden with scalps. On a third expedition, in April 1725, falling into an ambush of Saco Indians, he lost his life in Fryeburg, near a sheet of water which has taken his name; and the stream that feeds it is still known to the peaceful husbandman as ‘the Battle Brook.’”

---

\* Lovewell's Pond, Wakefield, N.H.



"The rangers were dressed like woodmen, armed with a firelock and a hatchet, under their right arm a powder-horn, a leather bag for bullets at their waist, and to each officer a pocket compass as a guide in the forests." — (Bancroft's History, Vol. 3.)

"The English borderers on their part regarded the Indians less as men than as vicious and dangerous wild animals. In fact the benevolent and philanthropic view of the American savage is for those who are beyond his reach; it has never yet been held by any whose wives and children have lived in danger of his scalping knife."

"Out of the heart of the White Mountains springs the river Saco, fed by the bright cascades that leap from the crags of Mt. Webster, brawling among rocks and boulders down the great defile of the Crawford Notch, winding through forests and intervalles of Conway, then circling through the village of Fryeburg in devious wanderings by meadows, woods and mountains, and at last turning eastward and southward to the sea." — Parkman — "A half century of conflict." Pp. 223, 256.

#### FRYEBURG.

General Joseph Frye, to whom the township was granted and in honor of whom it was named, was born in Andover, Mass., in April, 1711. He was a Justice of the Peace and a member of the General Court.

He was an ensign in Hale's regiment at the capture of Louisburg in 1745, and a colonel when Montcalm captured Fort William Henry in 1757, and escaped by killing the Indian that had charge of him. He was appointed major-general by the Massachusetts Provincial Congress on 21 June, 1775, and was commissioned brigadier-general by the Continental Congress on 10 Jan., 1776, but resigned on account of infirmity on 23 April.

One of the original settlers of Fryeburg in 1763. He died there in 1794 and was buried in the village cemetery.